2 Trade in America 32

AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

VARIOUS INDULGENCES

GRANTED BY

GREAT-BRITAIN

TO HER

COLONIES,

UPON WHICH

They have founded their Presumption of soaring towards INDEPENDENCE.

BY AN OFFICER.

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G.R. III.
BRITISH MUSEUM

DEDICATION.

The Right Honourable EARL PERCY,
Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's
Forces, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

WHEN we turn back to the illustrious Line of Heroes from whom your Lordship sprung, we are the less surprised at seeing you lay aside all the comforts and splendour that titles and a princely fortune can bestow in your own country; to encounter the dangers of the seas, the inclemency of foreign climates, and with undaunted bravery lead on your gracious Sovereign's troops to chastise his revolted subjects.

Nothing could withstand the British troops was your Lordship's glorious example to be followed by men of rank and independent fortunes; for the same noble spirit would diffuse through all the subordinate military stations

ſtations; then each man would with redoubled ardour ſtrain every ſinew to put a ſpeedy period to this unnatural ruinous war.

An attempt to deſcribe the exalted character your Lordſhip bears in the army, which had the happineſs of being under your command, would look too much like dedicatory adulation. I ſhall only add, that your Lordſhip's conduct, both as a General Officer and as a Friend to your troops, has ſecured you the grateful hearts of all the ſoldiery, as well as thoſe of the people of England in general, among the reſt Him, who has the honour to be, with the moſt profound reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt devoted,

moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

The AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

AT this juncture, when a deluded multitude is ſtruggling to ſhake off all dependence on their mother-country, and in deſpite of every religious and moral tie, attempt to form themſelves into a free ſtate, it is the duty of every man to offer his ſervice to his moſt gracious Majeſty, the beſt of ſovereigns, in order to reduce theſe ungrateful, headſtrong men to obedience. Being an idle ſpectator, when our King, and our country is inſulted by rebellious colonies, is diſaffection; nay, at this time, neutrality is diſloyalty.

When I ſay every man ought to offer his ſervice, I do not mean that every man ſhould leave his occupation and take up arms againſt the Americans, no; the merchant, the mechanic, &c. are abſolutely neceſſary to the

commonwealth, and their actual ſervice muſt be diſpenſed with. But theſe perſons ſhould freely ſubſcribe towards the fitting out of people, who are both capable and willing to ſerve abroad. Some there are, indeed, whoſe conſtitutions and finances will neither allow to ſerve, or to ſubſcribe; yet, thoſe perſons are bound to ſpeak favourably of the cauſe, and, if capable, ought to uſe their pens to excite a proper reſentment in their fellow-citizens, and prevent the ſpirit of faction from diffuſing through the weaker and more uninformed of their countrymen.

Moreover, on this occaſion I will not even excuſe the Britiſh fair. I will inſiſt upon their acting with a ſpirit, as much ſurpaſſing what has heretofore been recorded of the ſex, as they now do all modern ladies in beauty and accompliſhments. But think not, ye fair, I mean to call you forth to battle! your ſoft frames were never by nature meant to wield the ſword, or draw the trigger; you have at will a more ſubtle, a more penetrating fire than chemiſtry can invent, or the ſtrongeſt fortifications reſiſt, the ſhocks from your electricity are far ſuperior to thoſe of the elementary fluid: for you can

wound, enſlave, or deſtroy the object you direct it againſt, as beſt ſuits your purpoſe. It is this fire I would have you employ (not againſt the rebels) but againſt your own countrymen, and diſcharge it on thoſe non-electrics whom neither loyalty to their king, zeal for their inſulted country, or the hopes of rendering themſelves worthy of the richeſt prize a ſoldier after all his toils wiſhes to attain, permiſſion from the object of his love, to lay his laurels at her feet, can inſpire them with ſufficient valour, to unſheathe their ſwords in the cauſe of Great Britain, or riſque their ſelf-valued perſons in battle.

But if an inſenſible ſceptic ſhould doubt of the force of female influence, let him behold the populace, when our moſt incomparable Queen appears; there he will ſee each heart floating in their full eyes, ready to pour forth in grateful tribute to her virtues. In each reign the faſhions of the court prevailed, and were followed by all ranks of people: we are ſuperlatively bleſſed with examples of every human virtue, placed on the throne, let it be the prevailing *Ton*, to attempt, according to our ſtations, to imitate and deſerve ſuch bleſſings.

We have many ladies whoſe genius in the literary world bear the higheſt rank, and in general, when ladies overcome what the French call the *mauvais honte*, and venture their thoughts on paper, their ſtile is more enlivened, their fancies more brilliant, and their language much more perſuaſive than what flows from a maſculine pen. It were to be wiſhed, nay, it is the duty of the ladies, to to give out their orders ſignifying the deference they will pay to thoſe, who will brave perils by land, by water, by ſword, or by fire, to ſecure their beloved ſovereign in his rights, and chaſtiſe his revolted ſubjects, ſhould they obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to return to their allegiance, and to embrace the mild laws of this realm.

It will be plainly ſeen that writing is not my profeſſion; but zeal for the public cauſe has made me hazard my rude, unadorned ſentiments on paper, and leave the arrangement and methodiſing of them to perſons of more abilities. It will, perhaps, be thought I am one of the claſs, who has no means of ſerving his country but by his pen; therefore it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of myſelf. I have ſerved my country throughout

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the laſt war, am thoroughly acquainted with the preſent ſcene of action in America, where I have large poſſeſſions, and may add, I have conſiderable influence amongſt the natives; nor is it my fault that I have not long ſince been active in my country's ſervice; but although it has been my lot not to be called forth, yet I think it my duty to promulgate my dear-bought experience, and if any one hint of mine ſhould in the enſuing campaign be turned to advantage, I ſhall think myſelf amply repaid.

I would not have the reader imagine, "I "ſhall any *thing extenuate, or aught ſet down* "*in malice. I ſhall round, unvarniſhed tales* "*unfold*, and with ſketches of my *travelled* "*hiſtory*," *wherein* will be ſeen many occurrences which, if properly attended to, may ſerve as leſſons of experience in future operations.

AN IMPARTIAL SKETCH, &c.

WHEN our first settlers landed on the continent of America they founded their right to the soil whereon they established themselves, upon being the first Christian discoverers of the country. They were received by the natives in the most friendly, courteous manner, who traded with them on the most advantageous terms. The emigrants encreasing, land at a distance from the sea-coast was wanted for cultivation, which the natives chearfully granted, reserving to themselves always, their own castles or villages, and hunting grounds. When our colonies encreased in numbers and in strength, they sometimes, by indirect means, other times by force, took such lands

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from the Indians as they wanted, which brought on frequent ſkirmiſhes, and put the mother-country to expence, in ſettling the diſputes of their infant colonies. During the wars with France and Spain, England was at an enormous expence in protecting the American colonies, whilſt the inhabitants were enriching themſelves by a protected commerce; but not content with that advantage, they, under cover of pretended flags of truce, and other illicit means, ſupplied the French and Spaniards with all kinds of warlike ſtores, proviſions, &c. in return for which, they had ſugars, molaſſes, and other produce of the enemy's iſlands, which without this commerce the planters could not ſend to market, as their ports were ſo narrowly watched by our ſtationed men of war; and the ſea ſo covered with our cruizers and privateers, that ſcarce one ſhip in ten had a probability of arriving at her deſtined harbour. This illicit, I may call it, treaſonable, commerce, not only drained our colonies of the great ſums, remitted in ſpecie from Great-Britain, for the payment of the army, and other expences of the campaigns, but opened a ſafe channel for our enemies to diſpoſe of their crops, which

muſt have laid uſeleſs on their hands, or become the property of our brave Engliſh tars, maſters of the ocean.

To prove my aſſertion, that the colonies enriched themſelves during the war, I remember one town which at the beginning of the hoſtilities had only ſix gentlemens carriages belonging to it, and at the concluſion of the peace their number exceeded one hundred and fifty; and every ſpecies of luxury advanced in proportion. Notwithſtanding this apparent oppulence, they ſolicited indemnification for their loſſes and expences during the war, from this their parent-country, for which the too indulgent parliament granted them a very conſiderable ſum; and in return for ſuch parental bounty, the ungrateful colonies have, on every occaſion, mentioned this unmerited indulgence, as a proof of the extraordinary ſervices they had rendered Great Britain, by taking up arms in their own defence!

As ſoon as the continent of America was ſecured from the incurſions of the French, by the reduction of Canada, the turbulent ſpirit of the Americans again extending illicit trade and encroachments to the Indian ſettlements, kindled up a cruel war with the

ſavage nations, which had like to have proved fatal to many of the provinces; for the garriſons in the upper country being too weakly manned, fell an eaſy prey to the native Indians, which was more alarming in its conſequences, as moſt of the regular troops from the ſea-coaſts and adjacent garriſons had been ſent to the Havannah, and were it not for the intrepid behaviour of the Governor and garriſon of Detroit, who held out with a handful of men againſt the combined forces of the Indian nations, (though blockaded by them for many months, and the inhabitants of the town, conſiſting of half-bred Indians and diſaffected Canadians, far exceeded our number) the country, even as low as Albany, would have felt ſeverely the fury of the enraged ſavages. There was a particular period of time when the Indian war alarmed even the inhabitants of New-York for their ſafety, as they had a poſitive account that general Keppel had taken with him, from the Havannah to England, all the Britiſh troops; but luckily this gloom laſted but a few days, for a ſloop of war with diſpatches from England having met the Havannah fleet off Cape Hatteras, the quota of troops ordered for America

rica was ſent to the different ports, according to the diſtribution contained in the general's diſpatches. The regiments no ſooner were arrived at New-York, but detachments were immediately hurried up the country, to reinforce the frontier garriſons, and were fortunate enough, though not without immenſe labour, to convey a timely ſupply of proviſions to the almoſt famiſhed garriſon of Detroit.

The people of England alarmed at the ſufferings of the colonies, and fearing a total loſs of the fur-trade, readily granted aids for carrying on an expedition againſt the ſavages; which ended in a peace.

The next ſeaſon proper officers were appointed to act under the ſanction of the royal proclamation of 1763, in regulating the trade, and finally adjuſting any differences which might have remained unſettled between the Indians and white people. Trade flouriſhed, and the traders returned to their reſpective colonies, without apprehenſion of danger, though loaded with rich returns of peltry for their Engliſh merchandize.

One would imagine that after ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure, to eſtabliſh uni-

verſal peace, by ſea and land for the Americans, there remained nothing now for the colonies to aſk of Great-Britain; and that they would deviſe means amonſt themſelves, to eaſe the mother-country, already too much loaded, in their ſupport of any future expences. But the Americans did not think themſelves in perfect tranquillity on their back ſettlements, on account of a war that ſubſiſted time immemorial between the Cherokees and the Six Nations, or Iroquois Indians; for it happened frequently that when any party of warriors, going from either of theſe nations to make make a coup de main, or ſurpriſe their enemy, met with white people on their way, or *War-path*, they put them to death; which often cauſed the relations or friends of the deceaſed to make retaliation, whereby the growing population of that country was checked, and their ſcheme of extending along the fertile banks of the Ohio fruſtrated. The ſouthern colonies therefore ſent deputies with chiefs of the Cherokee nation, to England imploring the mediation of government, in order to reconcile their differences with the northern Indians. Great-Britain ever liſten-

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ing to her colonies with a favouring ear; immediately ſent directions to the ſuperintendant of the northern diſtricts of America, to treat with the Indians, and incline them to peace. After much difficulty and great expence to government, the ſix nations were wrought upon to conſent to a ceſſation of arms; provided the Cherokees would come upon the territories of the ſix nations, and there aſk for terms of peace. Propoſals on all ſides being agreed upon, at a congreſs held in the Mohawk country, every uneaſineſs ſeemed now totally removed, and perfect tranquillity eſtabliſhed through that vaſt continent.

This affair being ſettled, the Americans had nothing to diſturb them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but the deſigning harpies of the law, who were conſtantly employed in finding prior titles, or diſcovering imperfect deeds of ſale, made by the Indians to the land-holders, many vexatious ſuits were trumped up, particularly by the New-Englanders, and appeals were frequent to the King and council; for the manner of purchaſing lands from the Indians was as follows.—The perſon who wanted a tract of land, firſt made

made his terms with the chiefs of the nation to which it belonged; then applied to the governor of the province for liberty of purchasing; the money was paid, and the deeds perfected in the presence of the superintendant of Indian-affairs, and registered in his secretary's office.

But as this mode was not sufficiently sanctified by any act of the British legislature, it made an opening for much cavilling, and many disputes arose concerning what Indians in the villages had the power of selling lands vested in them: for often, by intoxicating and bribing profligate Indians, the same lands were sold to different parties, by Indians of the same village.

In order to establish the most permanent private, as well as public tranquillity, and that the colonies should have nothing to impede the advancement of their cultivation and commerce, this indulgent country entered into a new expence, by ordering the superintendant to call a General Congress of the Indians, at Fort Stanwix, where the governors of the respective provinces were convened, in order to fix a boundary line between the colonies and the Indians nations there assembled;

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and to purchaſe for the crown, all right to the ſoil, betwixt that line and the ſea. The purchaſe-money accordingly being paid to the Indians, commiſſaries and ſurveyors were ſent from each province with the Indians, to make proper land-marks; and alſo officers of the crown to take formal poſſeſſion of the country: for his Majeſty's uſe; by which means thoſe lands now became our ſole property by every legal, moral and political right, to which we formerly, laid a claim to trade upon, as belonging to our friends and allies, the ſix nations.

At this time alſo the boundary lines were finally fixed between the reſpective provinces; which put an end to many heart-burnings and litigations, for property encroached upon, indiſcrimately, by the contiguous inhabitants.

Now, ſince the operations of the Congreſs, the method of purchaſing lands is totally different; for if any perſon finds an Indian inclined to ſell a landed property reſerved to him at the Congreſs, within the boundary line, he muſt apply to the governor of the province, who is to buy the land in preſence of the ſuperintendant, and chiefs of the nation,

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for his Majeſty's uſe, and then grant it to the petitioner, by which means it will be clearly ſeen that the inhabitants who formerly held the poſſeſſions by deeds from the Indians, now hold them under the crown.

The Americans, though they loved and revered Sir William Johnſon for his perſonal qualifications, as well as the various means he had in his hands of granting them favours; and though they always teſtified the obligation the colonies owed to his valour, in defeating the French army and preventiug ſuch a diſagreeable viſit as Dieſkau's being made to New-York; yet they tried every method of leſſening his conſequence both at home and abroad, well knowing ſuch ſuperior merit as his could not fail of creating envy and ſecret enemies: for they looked upon him as an inſurmountable barrier to their ambitious views. His influence was not only powerful amongſt the Indians, but over all ranks of people; he was bleſſed with ſtrong intellects, a correct memory, and ſolid judgment. He had a piercing eye, and was thoroughly acquainted with every American connection, added to theſe qualities, he was of a moſt athletic, robuſt conſtitution, poſſeſſing an undaunted

daunted, cool intrepidity in action, and in private life no man dared openly to inſult him. His liberality and charity was unbounded, which ſecured him the affections of the lower claſs of the people, whilſt the higher ranks were attached to him, either through friendſhip or intereſt. It is not at all wonderful that the diſcontented, intriguing partizans of liberty ſhould rejoice at ſeeing part of his influence, as ſuperintendant, diminiſhed; for as the late purchaſe ſecured the landholders property from litigious invaſions, that office, the depoſit of all the Indian records, became of leſs conſequence, and Sir William's houſe, heretofore the daily reſort of people from the different provinces, became leſs viſited, and his ſpreading influence diminiſhed in proportion. Beſides, the fanatics dreaded that their plots might be diſcovered by his penetration, whilſt ſome of their weaker brethren were regaling themſelves at his hoſpitable board.

Now every act of beneficence appeared effected by Great Britain in behalf of her colonies; they in return, under the ſpecious maſque of friendſhip, were continually propoſing ſchemes for leſſening the American expence: well know-

ing that œconomy was, at that time, the miniſterial idol.

They had nearly ſucceeded in their endeavours to have all the forts in the Indian country diſmantled, by which means a leſs number of troops would be ſufficient for the American eſtabliſhment; however, the greateſt part of the troops was brought down the country, alſo moſt of the cannon and artillery ſtores, which, through the adopted ruinous ſcheme of œconomy, were left at different unprotected ſtations, until ſome more favourable opportunity ſhould offer to have them properly ſecured.

The next ſtroke of policy was to create a jealouſy in the breaſts of civil governors, of the power veſted in the hands of the military commander in chief, and the precedence given to him by the King's regulations.

They alſo attempted to inflame the officers, both civil and military, with indignation againſt the authority given by his Majeſty's miniſters to the ſuperintendants and their officers, who preſided over all matters reſpecting Indian affairs and trade, beyond the boundaries preſcribed by charters to the civil governments.

Thoſe officers were more obnoxious to the diſcerning Americans, as they were moſtly gentlemen who had ſerved in the military line; and all men of approved integrity, capacity, and influence amongſt the native Indians, perſons whom they looked upon as checks to the machinations of the itinerant clergy, they, under falſe pretences, ſent to preach amongſt the Indian tribes, in order to weaken his Majeſty's influence over them. They beſides looked upon theſe gentlemen as ſpies, becauſe, being unlike thoſe who were formerly employed by the provinces in ſimilar ſtations; they, by their generous, diſintereſted and courteous behaviour to the traders, gained their confidence: which to people who had a deep-laid plot almoſt ripe for execution, could not fail of being totally diſagreeable.

The extenſion of the Fur-trade, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the trading ports in the ſpacious tracts of Indian country, was attended with a heavy expence; which appeared much greater than it really was; for every department under the crown employed in thoſe diſtricts, ſtrove to appear œconomiſts, by throwing as much of their reſpective ex-

pences into the Indian accounts as poſſible. Thus was the way made eaſy for the American party to get rid of a ſet of his Majeſty's faithful officers, whoſe loyalty kept them in ſome degree of awe and reſpect.

Upon application being made by the American traders, that the regulation of the interior commerce of the country ſhould be veſted in their governors, and that they would provide for the expence of the officers, by ſupplies to be voted in their reſpective houſes of aſſembly, an order was obtained for the diſmiſſion of all the officers in the Indian department, employed at the advanced poſts, and only a limitted and ſcanty ſum allowed to the ſuperintendants for contigencies.

A year and more elapſed, and nothing was done in the provinces, or any motion made in their houſes of aſſembly towards the ſupport of the Indian officers, they propoſed taking into their pay, according to the plan which, at their own deſire, was at an enormous expence put into execution by the government at home. The commander in chief ſtill entertaining hopes that the coloniſts would keep their promiſes; and being unwilling that the money expended in eſtabliſhing a plan, which

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in a few years would amply repay the whole expenditure, ſhould be loſt, conſented to the continuation of the officers in the pay of the crown, for another ſeaſon: but ſeeing the coloniſts were averſe to taxation (although it was their own propoſal, and for their immediate protection, and commercial advantage) he ordered the ſuperintendants to withdraw all perſons employed in that department, from the interior country.

By what I have wrote in the foregoing pages, it muſt appear that the American party proceeded with great cunning to blindfold the mother-country, and make her indulgence ſubſervient to their deep-laid ſchemes of independence.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary than any thing I have related, is, that a correſpondence diſcovered betwixt the people who ſtyled themſelves *liberty boys* (*i. e.* thoſe who oppoſed the operation of the Stamp-Act) and the Indians, had not opened the eyes of the government, and prevented the diſmiſſion of ſuch a number of his Majeſty's faithful ſervants, at ſo critical a juncture.

It is pity that the Engliſh laws were not, at that time, put in force againſt thoſe daring

rioters,

ſtorers, who ventured to appear in large bodies: as a proper exertion of the civil authority might then have prevented the contagious breath of the Boſtonian republicans, from infecting the neighbouring provinces; and in all probability, might have ſaved the lives of the many thouſands, who have ſince fatally fallen ſacrifices to rebellion.

The American diſſenters had the addreſs, through their agents, to raiſe a large ſubſcription in England, for the propagation of the chriſtian religion amongſt the ſavages. A ſchool was erected at Boſton, and liberally endowed, for the education of a certain number of boys from each nation. The fanatics through the influence they hoped to gain over the minds of the children thus educated amongſt them, thought of eſtabliſhing their preachers in every Indian village. For this purpoſe, they ſent many young ſtudents to reſide in the country, and to learn the different dialects. Thoſe people were continually preaching rebellious and independent principles, not only to the Indians but alſo in the neighbouring ſettlements: they were more ſanguine than ſucceſsful, as the ſix nations who knew them to be a ſelf-intereſted hypocritical people, by

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whose fair promises they had often been deceived, would not listen to their doctrine: besides which, the wretched example they had continually before their eyes, of the hardships and frauds committed on the Stockbridge and other native Indians, who were the original proprietors of New-England, and who had remained amongst them, and voluntarily subjected themselves to their laws, made them abhor, even the idea, of being instructed by the *Saints* missionaries. However they were successful in one small village of Oneida Indians, near to Fort Stanwix. This nation was disaffected, most of last war, and parties from them were continually going with intelligence to the French. They are a more subtle, and political, than a warlike tribe, and created much mischief amongst the other villages of the six nations.

One of those canting itinerants gained great influence over the Oneidians, he resided amongst them a long while; at length, thinking himself secure in the implicit faith of his flock, he attempted pursuing the plan of the missionaries in Paraguay, and insisted upon knowing every secret of the nation and regulating all their councils, which during the life of

Sir

Sir William Johnſon he could not accompliſh; ſo that he diſcovered the ſiniſter views of his brother miſſionaries without effect: for the ſuperintendant took care to prevent as much as poſſible, any of his fraternity, from ſettling amongſt the other nations.

At this time Boſton that was once the principal city in America, ſaw her commerce decline, and New-York becoming every day more flouriſhing. It was now the reſidence of the commander in chief, and, of conſequence, the military caſh was there circulated whilſt the ſtorehouſes in Boſton remained full of European goods imported for the uſe of the army during the war. Every claſs of people in New-England was in ſome meaſure affected by the peace. Theſe who were employed in the Provincial ſervice being uſed to go *forth* every ſpring were uneaſy at home, and had contracted ſuch millitary notions, that they could not much ſtomach returning to the plough. The farmers who ſupplied the army with live ſtock, now wanted the aſſiſtance of the contractors; for they had no ready money market for their produce, and they were too lazy, to turn their paſtures into arable lands. This being the ſituation of New England

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when the Stamp-Act was attempted to be enforced, rendered it an eaſy matter for the leading people to get a non-importation agreement entered into throughout New-England, to which they invited the neighbouring provinces, and they readily agreed to it after having taken care to fill their magazines with merchandize. Notwithſtanding their mutual promiſes, each colony found means to diſpoſe not only of the ſtock in hand, but ſuch as was newly imported and put into ſtore; a limited time was allowed for the arrival of ſuch goods as were ordered or ſent upon commiſſion from England, before their correſpondents could have advice of their reſolutions; and all veſſels that arrived from England, after that period, were either obliged to return with their cargoes, or put the goods into ſtore, there to remain unſold, till after all the acts of taxation were repealed.

Flushed with their ſucceſs in having the Stamp-Act repealed, the New-Englanders wanted the reſt of the colonies to continue the prohibition of commerce with England till they were relieved from taxation, although they themſelves were clandeſtinely importing and vending the manufactures of

Great-Britain; but the other colonies now appriſed of the New-Englanders duplicity, and feeling too much diſtreſs by the ſtagnation of trade, re-eſtabliſhed their commerce with England.

Many perſons who countenanced the rioters, only to ſerve their turn in putting a ſtop to importation till they had emptied their warehouſes, now began to wiſh that all popular clamours might ceaſe. But the lower claſs of people were not ſo eaſily reduced to order; they found, by a rude oppoſition, they had gained their point againſt the Engliſh parliament, and of courſe imagined the ſame conduct would force ſeveral internal grievances to be redreſſed. Many tenants refuſed to have the rent of their farms raiſed, nay, ſome would not pay any rent at all; alledging, that it was the ancient cuſtom to purchaſe lands, either from the Lords of the manor, or to locate them from the government, and therefore they would not ſubmit to any innovation. Some more daring ſettled on lands not their property, and by main force attempted to hold illegal poſſeſſion. The military were called upon to ſupport the ci-

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vil authority, in reducing thoſe turbulent ſpirits to order.

The people of New-York finding that the lawyers laid down their pens, as ſoon as the Stamp-act, which in its firſt operation muſt affect them, regardleſs of the other acts of parliament that remained in force, to tax tea, glaſs, colours, &c. reſolved not to elect any member of the law a repreſentative in their houſe of aſſembly. Their reſentment was the occaſion of many ſalutary regulations, which prevented the harpies of the law from increaſing amongſt them. A chamber of commerce was eſtabliſhed at New-York, and every diſpute amongſt the people in trade was firſt heard and ſettled at that chamber, for a trifling expence; and any merchant appealing from the deciſion of the chamber to a ſuperior court, was looked upon as a litigious man, and not a fair dealer. There was likewiſe an act of aſſembly paſſed, putting the deciſion of cauſes under 10l. value, into the hands of two or more juſtices of the peace, whoſe ſentence was final; and no lawyers were allowed to plead at that court.

By theſe regulations many practitioners of the law were forced to retire to the country, for want of employment, which made the turbulent ſpirits, in the preſbyterian party doubly induſtrious, in ſtriving to ſet at variance the civil governors and military commanders; in order by trifling diſputes to engage their attention, whilſt the factious were working up their rebellious projects. They were encouraged by ſeeing the many outrages daily committed on the perſons and effects of his Majeſty's officers, paſs unpuniſhed, the *liberty aſſociations* and other illegal and riotous meetings unmoleſted, by either civil or military power; which lenity they interpreted into fear, and began to exult in their own ſtrength and conſequence: they likewiſe ſaw many people who were abettors of their rebellious aſſociations return from England with marks of miniſterial favour, and concluded their cauſe had powerful friends there, and that the parliament meant to bribe them into a ſubmiſſion, which it could not effect by force. They beheld the Canadians who had fomented the Indian war, and even thoſe very men who had been confined by us on the ſtrongeſt proofs of their guilt, not only ſet at liberty, but immediately after

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enjoy lucrative employments under government; whilſt many of the officers who had ſignalized themſelves, ſhed their blood, and ſpent their fortunes in the king's ſervice, were neglected; all theſe matters were improved by the artful repreſentations of the rebellious agents, as they hoped thereby to influence the military in favour of their cauſe, or to damp their zeal whenever again called into the actual ſervice of their country. The Canadians who traded in the Indian countries, and had frequent intercourſe with the people from the Engliſh colonies, were inſolent enough to tell the Indians, who wondered at ſeeing them in our ſervice, that the Engliſh were conſcious of their want of power or abilities to rule ſo many nations, and were forced to make friends of the Canadians; that their *Grand Monarque* only ſlept a few years, till his armies were recruited, that he would again *unbury* the *hatchet* and put it once more into their hands. It was ſo well known the French had many agents amongſt the Canadians who remained after the capitulation, that the firſt governor was forced to carry a very high hand with the inhabitants, who knew his vigilant penetration and were eye-witneſſes to his intrepidity in puniſhing delinquents,

linquents; and it was univerſally allowed by the French at the reduction of Canada, that, if the governor of Quebec had acted in any one reſpect different from what he had done, that important fortreſs would have been retaken before the enſuing ſpring.

The execution of a captain of militia who carried intelligence to the French army, during the ſiege; his ſteady, cool, and intrepid reſolution in eſtabliſhing ſtrict diſciplime in his garriſon after the affair of 28th of April, when the whole ſoldiery giving over every thing for loſt, mutinied, broke open cellars and warehouſes, and were guilty of drunkenneſs and all ſorts of licencioufneſs; ſtruck ſuch a terror into the inhabitants as well as the troops, that no perſon dared even to ſpeak or look diſaffected afterwards. Would to Heaven ſome ſuch ſpirited conduct had been ſhewn in the beginning of theſe American troubles, and rebellion would not have yet dared to ſhew her head but remain gnawing the cankered vitals of the fanatic republicans.

Beſides the reaſons I have already given, the New-England men are more prone to ſedition than any other coloniſts; it muſt be obſerved that their winters are longer than in the

the other English ſettlements to the weſtward that their lands are more cleared of wood and thicker ſettled, of conſequence in the frozen months, the peaſants have nothing to do, but cabal with their neighbours, and inſtruct their children in reading, writing and praying, ſo you'll not meet a New-England man but has the bible by heart, and all the laws of his province. It may be juſtly ſaid in reſpect to them, that a little learning is a dangerous thing, for they never allow that they could ſin againſt civil or religious ſociety, if they can wreſt the ſenſe of a text in ſcripture, or produce a provincial act of aſſembly to juſtify the tranſaction. They are likewiſe rudely inquiſitive, and will ſtop a paſſenger on his road to enquire news, and tire his patience by aſking impertinent and political queſtions; then haſte to ſome neighbouring tap-houſe to communicate his intelligence. Thus the poor Yankey peaſant, who thinks himſelf all-ſufficient, becomes a willing tool for a diſaffected party to work with: being ever ready to attend *religion's drum eccleſiaſtic*, he ſuffers himſelf to be *piouſly* led forth and commit every outrage againſt the *Lord's anointed*, re-

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gardleſs of former obligations or oaths of allegiance.

The Americans, by ſerving with our armies, had frequent opportunities of ſeeing the ingratitude of the Engliſh ſervice; and that many officers of diſtinguiſhed merit in the laſt war had through diſguſt retired from the ſervice and ſettled amongſt them; they alſo hoped from the intermarriages and conections they had formed with the military, that many would refuſe to ſerve againſt them, if they did not openly eſpouſe their cauſe. The officers during the American and Indian war went with cheerfulneſs through aſtoniſhing fatigue. They made themſelves maſters of the different branches of the ſervice, ſuch as battoeing proviſions up the rapid rivers, cutting timber, pilotting themſelves through woods and over lakes: branches which were performed in the beginning of the war by perſons who were allowed five times the pay of a ſoldier and double his proviſions. And at the cloſe of the war, the officers and ſoldiers were recompenſed for thoſe great ſavings to the crown by being forced to pay for their rations, which before they had gratis.

The ſervice in America is of ſuch a nature that if every officer does attempt to ſignalize him-

himſelf it cannot be attended with great ſucceſs, for it frequently happens that the command of a very important paſs, or a magazine falls to the lot of a ſubaltern, indeed moſt of the laborious part of the ſervice is performed by that rank. A Sub from the ſmall number under his command may find it prudent to ſurrender to a ſuperior force, without trying the event of a defence; yet if he was ſure that, either preferment or ſome honorary token was to be the reſult of a brave reſiſtance, he would perhaps maintain his ground, and do cheap ſervice to his country; or if on the contrary he knew that every officer, who loſt a paſs or fort committed to his charge, was to have his conduct ſubjected to a formal enquiry, and impartial cenſure was to be the conſequence, he would exert his utmoſt, and not barely content himſelf with acting ſo as to keep the rank he held, until by gradual ſucceſſion, money, or powerful intereſt he ſhould be promoted.

General Wolf, whoſe loſs will ever be regretted by all true military ſpirits, made his army invincible, not only by his conduct as general, but by his affability as a man. He viſited the lines, made himſelf acquainted with

the circumſtances and diſpoſitions of the officers and privates of every corps; if a ſoldier deſerved reward, he immediately ordered him money or preferment, and minuted down in his pocket book, every perſon he ſaw diſtinguiſh himſelf. The late Lord Howe ſeemed inclined to tread in his ſteps, he was indefatigable in making himſelf maſter of all the different branches of the American ſervice, he attended the battoing the proviſions, and looked minutely into the quarter-maſter general's department; he carried his proviſions on his back and went ſcouting with parties of rangers. He ſet an example of œconomy and hardineſs to the officers, for a ſoldier never thinks any duty a hardſhip if his officer ſeems to fare no better than himſelf. Lord Howe lay in a ſoldier's tent, his bedding conſiſted of a bear-ſkin and blanket and a few ſhirts in a leather valice, and he lived upon the ſame kind of rations that were ſerved to the private men.

The French partizans in the laſt war uſed to carry their own proviſions, when they made incurſions in our frontiers, and frequently a ſcouting party of thirty or forty men, ſet all the militia on the frontiers and many regular

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regiments in the neighbourhood on their march; but thoſe partizans no ſooner made their blow but they retired: and thus they kept us every winter in continual movements.

If ſome ſuch diverſion had been made from Canada on the right and left of General Burgoyne's army, would it not have divided the rebel militia, and given a better chance of ſucceſs to the main body, or had only a party puſhed towards the center of the Mohawk river, would not colonel St. Leger have had a better chance of joining the army at Saratago?

Much has been ſaid againſt employing the Indians; all thoſe near our ſettlements in Canada are Roman Catholics; the ſix nations are alſo catholicks or proteſtants, unleſs the Oneidans who are turned preſbyterians. It may be alledged they ſcalp, and that they uſe the Tomohawk; I ſhould be glad to know if it is greater inhumanity to employ the tomohawk, than the pole-ax on board ſhip, or the bayonet on the ſhore? when two armies meet and ruſh upon each other, it is indifferent what inſtrument of deſtruction they make uſe of; their determination is to kill their opponents, and I inſiſt upon it, there is more chance of being maimed or diſfigured by the blows from

a ſabre,

a ſabre than from a Tomohawk: for an Indian's ſtroke is ſo well aimed, that it ſeldom fails of being fatal. Does not every nation, when at war, employ huſſars, graſſines, or other light troops, who, like our Indians, make incurſions with ſmall parties into the enemy's countries, kill, burn, deſtroy, bring off priſoners, and do every kind of miſchief that lies in their power? but in the ſcalping, it will be ſaid, the barbarity conſiſts. In the firſt place, the Indians never ſcalp unleſs the perſon appears to be dead, which cuſtom was exacted from them by the New-Englanders; who in former times, allowed conſiderable premiums for the deſtruction of any Indians they were at war with; and not truſting to report only, of the number of ſlain, they would not pay for killing any Indian enemy, unleſs the ſkin of the crown of his head was produced.

As a proof that Indians may be employed without this barbarous cuſtom being put in practice, when General Amherſt encamped on Iſle Perot, he ſent parties of Indians acroſs the river to Montreal, from whence they returned with as much plunder and as many priſoners as their boats would carry, and left

a num-

a number of inhabitants ſtanding on the ſhore, on parole, there to remain till they returned with boats ſufficient to bring them to the General. In this incurſion, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Canadians, there was not any inhabitant wounded or even inſulted. The French Generals always pretended they could not prevent the Indians from acts of barbarity, and frequently Engliſh priſoners were butchered in cold blood by the ſavages under the walls of Montreal, and their mangled limbs publicly carried through the ſtreets. But we ſhewed the trembling Canadians Britons were above retaliation, and that their example could inſpire the ſavages with humanity; for they reſtored the wretched captives not only to liberty, but returned them all their effects, and ſet them down again in quiet poſſeſſion of their houſes, &c.

But if we did call upon the Indians for aſſiſtance, the Americans very early ſet us the example; for they ſent belts of Wampum with ſpeeches to the Six Nations, to tell them, that England wanted to enſlave them, and impoſe a tax upon all merchandiſe ſent amongſt them, and that the Canadians agreed to it; ſo deſired they would require every

trader

trader to ſhew his paſſport from the Governor, and in caſe it was on ſtampt paper, to prevent him from ſelling his goods, and alſo to impede the march of the troops ordered from the upper poſts towards New-York : for they told the Indians the troops were going to the aſſiſtance of the General, who was reſolved to prohibit the ſale of Rum amongſt them.

The Americans, ever ungrateful, will not do juſtice to the humanity of our commanders that ſaved Hudſon's and the Mohawk's river from being deſolated, as happened in the French war, even down to Albany. It was the Americans ſtruck the firſt blow, on the Coghnewágo Indians, a branch of the Iroquois, who own the lands about St. John's; for when the rebels made their firſt deſcent on Canada, thoſe Indians bravely oppoſed them, and loſt ſome of their chiefs in battle: in conſequence, they requeſted the governor of Canada to permit three hundred of their warriors to retaliate, ſaying, that as the inhabitants of the country adjacent to Albany had unprovoked ſpilled the blood of their chiefs, and ſtained with it their peaceable lands, they had a right to revenge it as their own cauſe, and would take care for the

future

future to keep the rebels at a diſtance; but this requeſt was refuſed, of which the rebels had ſoon intelligence, and ſent deputies to treat with the enraged Indians, who finding their lands unprotected by the white people, agreed to a neutrality, in which the Cunneſadgo or Indians of the Lac de Deux Montagnes alſo joined.

The rebels, likewiſe, offended the other branches of the Iroquois or Six Nations; for they invited them to a treaty of neutrality, without which they well knew they dared not diſturb the Johnſon family in their poſſeſſions or intereſt in the Mohawk river, to which the Indians conſented, provided they would agree that Sir John Johnſon and his tenants ſhould remain unmoleſted, as alſo all his friends and dependants. Some time after this treaty was formally concluded and every body thinking themſelves ſecure, were off their guard, the rebel General Schuyler conveyed a large body of men, by night, in ſleds, ſurrounded Johnſon-Hall, plundered it, burned and deſtroyed all the papers and deeds they could lay their hands upon, broke open Sir John's bureau and took with them 350 guineas, whilſt he, under favour of the night, narrowly eſcaped, and got ſafe to Canada.

nada. After ſuch breaches of faith, it is to me a wonder how the Indians could be reſtrained from committing the moſt ſavage cruelties.

As a further proof that the Indians who live near our ſettlements are more inclined to humanity than when under the French government, they refuſed to aſſemble when called upon in the king's name by a French officer, who had the direction of them in laſt war. They would not believe that he who ſince the peace had once ſtirred them up againſt our gracious ſovereign could have authority from him to call them to the field; but if they have deſerted, as is ſaid, Great-Britain, it muſt be owing to their diſguſt at being commanded by men whoſe conduct was obnoxious to them, and being deprived of the Engliſh officers who formerly had their confidence.

It is really wonderful that the Indians preſerve their attachment to us, as the French have uſed every ſtroke of policy to perſuade them they are a more powerful, opulent and virtuous people than the Engliſh, to which ſtory the meaneſt Canadian peaſant to this day adheres. On the contrary, when our traders go among them they revile and abuſe each other, which makes the Indians often ſay, if

we

ve believed yourſelves, there is not an honeſt Engliſhman, nor a bad Frenchman. They had right to think the French more tender, more enerous than we; for where we gave them a lanket, the French uſed to give them a bale f goods; notwithſtanding, I believe it will e found, that they would not wiſh again to hange their maſters.

If the Indians were ſeriouſly employed in he manner as the French made uſe of them gainſt us laſt war, no perſon could be ſecure n their lands, from Fort Stanwix down to Albany, and alſo all the New-England fron-iers would be deſolated; for till we had poſ-eſſion of Crown Point, they were continually urning our frontier ſettlements and taking off priſoners, even as low down as Schenec-tady on the Mohawk and the half-moon on Hudſon rivers.

What can be more grating for an officer who has a thorough knowledge of his profeſ-ſion and particularly of the American ſervice, than to ſee foreigners prefered to him; whilſt his lands, perhaps, or effects, which he has left in America, are in the hands of the rebels, and cannot procure even a paſſage to the con-tinent, to ſerve as a volunteer to recover them.

Many ſuch there are now in England, wh
hoped to have an aſylum, for their old age
in the lands granted to them in America, an
on which they ſpent their all in cultivating
Theſe men would be happy to ſerve thei
king through principle, and have withſtoo
every temptation from the proffers of the co
lonies, preferring honourable penury to rebel
lious independence: but the miniſtry, I hope
will not let thoſe veterans any longer hav
cauſe to complain, but find out ſome way o
employing or rewarding them.

One would imagine that General H— wa
much in want of officers who knew the coun
try in America, by his employing ſome per
ſon now in the ſervice; particularly one wh
never was worthy of the appellation of
gentleman, and who had been of the rebe
party before our landing on Long Iſland. How
diſguſting muſt it be to a man who wiſhes to
ſerve, to ſee ſuch perſons obtain rank; and
to ſee the army led to places by intereſted
men, who have poſſeſſions in the neighbour-
hood, whereby they, not the general cauſe,
can be profited. If government would give
to each half-pay officer a ſuperior rank in the
provincial regiments to that held in the army,
and

and when by his merit or according to the date of his ſervice, he was entitled to a vacancy, in a regular regiment, to be provided for, both the army and cauſe would reap great advantage; for it is not every man in this luxurious age thinks he ought to ſtarve, neglected in his own country, whilſt foreigners enjoy the pay and honours his ſervice entitles him to ſhare.

We have ſuch proofs of the conduct and valour of the general to whom we owe the conqueſt of America, that had he the ſole recommendation of the officers for that ſervice, our arms could not fail of ſucceſs; and if conciliation would be liſtened to, by the Americans, no man is now living, in whom they have ſo much faith, and who knows their diſpoſitions better. But I am outrunning my purpoſe, and, therefore, will conclude, with wiſhing, that a man of Lord Amherſt's judgment, loyalty, integrity and knowledge might be employed in the arrangement of the pacification. And his valour and conduct, as a General, is ſo revered by the colonies, that his words will have double force; for they both love and fear him, from which, we have every reaſon to think, that he would effect a conciliation.

FINIS.